

## Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION NODS-00

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O 071450Z NOV 77  
FM AMEMBASSY GABORONE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0996

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 GABORONE 2768

NODIS CHEROKEE

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PDEV RH BC  
SUBJECT: CARVER-CHAND MEETING

1. SUMMARY: LORD CARVER AND GENERAL CHAND MET NOVEMBER 7 WITH PRESIDENT KHAMA AND TOP GOB OFFICIALS FOR FRIENDLY 75-MINUTE BRIEFING SESSION ON THEIR CONTACTS TO DATE. CARVER REVIEWED HIS CONTACTS DURING PAST WEEK IN DAR AND SALISBURY. CHAND OUTLINED UN ROLE. PRESIDENT KHAMA COMMENTED THAT HE COULD NOT HELP FEELING LITTLE PROGRESS HAD BEEN MADE. HE THOUGHT ELEMENTS WERE PRESENT FOR AN AGREEMENT; THAT ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS ARE GOOD BASIS FOR NEGOTIATIONS. VICE PRESIDENT MASIRE AND EXTAFF MINISTER MOGWE ASKED ABOUT ATTITUDES OF VARIOUS PARTIES, E.G., GOOD FAITH TS PATRIOTIC FRONT, AND SMITH'S WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE. IN REPLY, CARVER AND LOW STRESSED AGREEMENT OF ALL PARTIES ON CERTAIN PRINCIPLES, WITH SMITH'S POSTURE SUGGESTING CERTAIN BARGAINING QUALITY AND PATRIOTIC FRONT UNSURE OF ITSELF BUT WITH AN EAR COCKED IN THE EVENT BANDWAGON DEVELOPS. END SUMMARY.

2. PARTICIPANTS. ON THE SIDE OF THE TABLE WITH CARVER WERE CHAND, UK HICOM TURNER, WEIR, JONAH, LOW AND  
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NORLAND. KHAMA WAS FLANKED BY VICE PRESIDENT MASIRE, EXTAFF MIN MOGWE, PRIVATE SECRETARIES LEGWAILA AND TIBONE, EXTAFF PERMSEC MPOTOKWANE AND BRIGADIER IAN KHAMA.

3. SETTING. CARVER RESPONDED TO PRES. KHAMA'S GREETING AND EXPRESSION OF HOPE FOR PROGRESS AFTER SUCCESSIVE

ATTEMPTS AT RESOLVING RHODESIAN SITUATION OVER PAST YEARS BY GIVING 30-MINUTE REVIEW OF HIS CONTACTS OVER THE PAST WEEK IN DAR AND SALISBURY (REPORTED SEPTELS). CHAND FOLLOWED BY FIVE-MINUTE OUTLINE OF UN ROLE WHICH HE NOTED WAS LIMITED TO PEACEKEEPING ASPECTS OF TRANSITION. HE REVIEWED PROPOSED SYSTEM OF LIAISON GROUPS TO ESTABLISH CONTACT WITH LIBERATION FORCES INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY, I.E., INCLUDING FRONTLINE STATES. LOW SUMMARIZED IMPRESSIONS TO DATE THAT DESPITE ENORMOUS DIFFERENCES THERE WAS FIRM DETERMINATION TO PRESS AHEAD; NONE OF THE OTHER PLANS PUT FORWARD HAVE ANY PROMISE OF SUCCESS. ALLNPARTIES ARE INTERESTED IN BEING INCLUDED IN FUTURE TALKS. LOW NOTED THAT THE HOPE IS TO GET AN AREA OF BROAD AGREEMENT ENGAGING ALL PARTIES SO THAT NONE CAN OPT OUT.

4. GOB REACTION. PRES. KHAMA'S FIRST COMMENT WAS THAT HE COULD NOT HELP FEELING THAT "WE ARE WHERE WE WERE". HE RECALLED LONGSTANDING EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE UNITY ON NATIONALIST SIDE, EMPHASIZING IMPORTANCE OF AGREEING TO CERTAIN PROPOSALS IF ONLY TP "PUT SMITH IN THE WRONG". REGRETTABLY, NATIONALISTS HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO ACHIEVE UNITY AND EVEN TODAY THEY REMAIN DISUNITED. SIMILARLY, KHAMA SAID UK WAS CRITICIZED AND ITS INVOLVEMENT SOUGHT. NOW SOME APPEAR TO BELIEVE THE UK IS TOO INVOLVED. HE REVIEWED BRIEFLY BOTSWANA'S  
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COLONIAL EXPERIENCE AND FACT THAT COLONIAL POWER WAS ABSOLUTE BEFORE INDEPENDENCE. HE THOUGHT UN ROLE WAS APPROPRIATE TO SUPERVISE POWER ASPIRATIONS OF ALL UNTIL ELECTIONS CAN BE HELD. HE SAID THERE HAD NEVER BEEN THE SUGGESTION ONE PARTY SHOULD BE GIVEN POWER DIRECTLY AND IN ADVANCE. HE RECALLED THAT BOTSWANA INDEPENDENCE WAS PREPARED BY HAVING INTEREST OF VARIOUS PARTIES REPRESENTED INCLUDING THE PARTY, CHIEFS AND THE WHITES; THE RESULT WAS A "FAIR CONSTITUTION" THAT RESPECTS THE RIGHT TO PROPERTY AND FREE SPEECH, THAT FORBIDS IMPRISONMENT WITHOUT TRIAL -- A CONSTITUTION THAT STILL WORKS ELEVEN YEARS LATER. CONSTITUTIONAL SAFEGUARDS SHOULD BE APPLICABLE TO ALL. HE DEPLORED THE IDEA THAT WHOEVER HAS AN ARMY OR A PARTY HAS A RIGHT TO TAKE OVER. BOTSWANA REGARDS THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS AS A GOOD BASIS FOR NEGOTIATION, HE SAID; ALL PARTIES SHOULD AGREE TO A NEUTRAL PERSON TO HELP OVERCOME THE DISTRUST AND FRICTION THAT EXISTS. WHILE THIS WOULD SEEM TO BE APPARENT, HE REGRETTED ABSENCE OF AGREEMENT. THE QUESTION AROSE AS TO WHAT CAN BE DONE NEXT. HE NOTED CARVER'S INTENTION TO PRESS HARDER. MEANWHILE, SMITH'S INTERNAL SETTLEMENT

EXCLUDING THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WOULD ACHIEVE NOTHING;  
THE PATRIOTIC FRONT IS A FORCE TO BE RECKONED WITH  
WHETHER SMITH LIKES THEM OR NOT. BY REFUSING TO MEET  
WITH PF, SMITH HAS GIVEN THEM AN EXCUSE TO BE DIFFICULT".  
KHAMA NOTED MUZOREWA'S CLAIM (REFLECTED BY CARVER) TO  
85 PERCENT OF THE FIGHTING FORCES IN RHODESIA;  
KHAMA NOTED BOTSWANA HAS A NUMBER OF REFUGEES:  
3700 TODAY IN FRANCISTOWN/SELEBI-PIKWE INCLUDING  
100 MUZOREWA SUPPORTERS AND 88 PRO-SITHOLE, BUT  
MOST ARE NKOMO SUPPORTERS. "WE WILL NEVER KNOW  
UNTIL ELECTIONS", HE SAID, AS TO THE TRUTH OF MUZOREWA'S  
CLAIM. MEANWHILE THE WAR AND KILLING GO ON WHICH  
TOUCHES BOTSWANA ALTHOUGH FEW HAVE ACTUALLY BEEN  
KILLED. WE WANT THIS TO STOP BUT DON'T KNOW HOW IT  
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CAN BE DONE.

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W  
-----034105 100336Z /73

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FM AMEMBASSY GABORONE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0997

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 GABORONE 2768

NODIS CHEROKEE

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y FOR MRN 2768 VICE 1768

5. AMBASSADOR LOW RECALLED THAT BOTSWANA'S  
CONSTITUTION COMMANDED GREAT RESPECT AMONG ALL  
PARTIES AND HAD BEEN USED AS EXAMPLE OF HOW  
GUARANTEES COULD BE GIVEN. LOW ADDED HE DID NOT  
BELIEVE IT WOULD BE ACCURATE TO SAY SMITH REFUSED  
FURTHER DISCUSSIONS; THERE WAS A "BARGAINING QUALITY"  
IN SMITH'S POSITION. CARVER NOTED THE UNPRECEDENTED NATURE

OF RHODESIAN SITUATION AND THE FACT THAT UK HAD NOT EXERCISED EFFECTIVE POWER IN RHODESIA FOR MORE THAN 50 YEARS. THIS MADE IT DIFFICULT FOR UK TO ASSUME POWER NOW, EXERCISE IT FOR A TIME AND THEN TURN IT BACK. PRES. KHAMA INTERJECTED THAT THE NATIONALISTS HAD NEVER HELD POWER<sup>9</sup>. CARVER REFERRED TO KHAMA'S EARLIER QUESTION ABOUT NEXT STEPS AND SAID HE WOULD BE CONSIDERING WITH HIS AUTHORITIES WHAT COMES NEXT.

6. MOGWE ASKED WHAT SMITH'S PROBLEM IS WITH ONE MAN/ONE VOTE. CARVER SAID SMITH WAS LOOKING FOR SOME KIND OF CONSTITUTIONAL SAFEGUARD TO ASSURE REPRESENTATION OF WHITE OPINION IN PARLIAMENT. SMITH ALSO WANTS THE BASIC STRUCTURE OF RHODESIAN FORCES TO REMAIN TO GIVE WHITES CONFIDENCE THAT ORDER WOULD BE MAINTAINED AND THEY COULD STAY ON.

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7. MOGWE ASKED IF PATRIOTIC FRONT IS CONCERNED ABOUT EXISTENCE OF "ARMIES" AND SECURITY IN THE COUNTRY. CARVER SAID THEY DID NOT DISCUSS THAT QUESTION; MUGABE AND NKOMO HAD MET THE DAY BEFORE FOR THE FIRST TIME IN MANY WEEKS AND WERE UNITED ONLY IN THEIR ABILITY TO SAY NO. MOGWE ASKED IF EFFORTS CONTINUE TO PERSUADE SMITH TO MEET WITH PF REPS, TO WHICH CARVER REPLIED THAT EFFORTS WILL CONTINUE TO GET REPS OF BOTH SIDES TOGETHER. MASIRE NOTED PROBLEM WAS AN OLD ONE AND WONDERED ABOUT CARVER'S ASSESSMENT OF THE GOOD FAITH OF SMITH PARTIES, I.E., DO MUGABE, NKOMO AND OTHERS REALLY WANT A CEASEFIRE AND ELECTIONS? CARVER EXPRESSED VIEW THAT IF THEY SAW THE PROPOSALS GOING FORWARD AND WINNING ACCEPTANCE, SUCH AS ONE MAN/ONE VOTE, THEY WOULD GET WORRIED AND WANT TO JOIN THE BANDWAGON. EACH SIDE NOW BELIEVES THE OTHER IS BLOCKING PROGRESS. CARVER SAID HE COULD ENVISAGE SITUATION WHERE PROGRESS IS BEING MADE AND THE PF WOULD SENSE THE FORWARD MOMENTUM AND ACCEPT ELECTIONS. LOW COMMENTED THAT NONE OF THE INTERNAL OPTIONS IS LIKELY TO BRING PEACE, END SANCTIONS AND ASSURE ECONOMIC PROSPERITY.

8. PRES. KHAMA ASKED IF PF IS "BEING RAGEY". GOB HAS HEARD THAT SOLUTION WAS BEING CONSIDERED WHEREBY NKOMO WOULD BE IN CONTROL DURING INTERIM PERIOD. CARVER REPLIED THAT OUGABE WOULD NOT AGREE TO SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT, THAT THE NATIONALISTS ARE SPLIT AND NO CEASE-FIRE COULD BE ACHIEVED. MOGWE ASKED HOW FAR CARVER WOULD GO WITH SMITH'S VIEW OF SETTling POLITICAL DIFFERENCES BEFORE AGREEING TO CEASE-FIRE. HE NOTED PF HAS TAKEN THE

SAME VIEW, I.E., THAT POLITICAL BASE IS ESSENTIAL

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FOR CEASE-FIRE. CARVER SAID PROPOSALS HAD TO BE SEEN AS A WHOLE. DR. OWEN HOPED DISCUSSIONS WOULD PROCEED SIMULTANEOUSLY ON CEASE-FIRE AND POLITICAL/CONSTITUTIONAL AGREEMENT. HE BELIEVED BOTH WERE ESSENTIAL TO SAFEGUARD SECURITY AND TO ASSURE THAT PEOPLE REMAIN IN PEACE IN RHODESIA.

9. COMMENT: IN HIS COMMENTS AND QUESTIONS PRES. KHAMA REFLECTED (A) HIS FRIENDLY AND SYMPATHETIC ATTITUDE TOWARD ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS; (B) HIS GROWING IMPATIENCE WITH BOTH PF AND SMITH REGIME; AND (C) HIS SAGGING HOPES FOR PEACEFUL SOLUTION. CARVER-CHAND VISIT HAS HELPED BUOY THEM UP A BIT.

10. DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS LUSAKA (FOR AMBASSADOR LOW) AND OTHER POSTS AS DESIRED.  
NORLAND

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## Message Attributes

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